463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

[347] All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal.
[651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal.
[437] Individual sales are usually small, and the portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-*
256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

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264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[423] [556] [22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

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443 goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, [431] that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.[24]

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purepero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *čharanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

[24] An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, crioline, castor oil, lime.

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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[P. 73-a]

443 professional traders gather at Pátamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practi-
443 cally every village lively trading accompanies the
438 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
796 some instances such markets are large enough to be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

● 437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Pátamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Pátamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-